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[For discussions of agricultural ceremonies, and of associated magical concepts, see 20: Hart, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 280-284 (palio), p. 285 (buhatan), pp. 294-299 (loto), pp. 394-396 (camote-planting lihi), pp. 399-400 (cassava-planting lihi), pp. 304-306 (rice-planting lihi), p. 308 (rice-transplanting lihi), pp. 313-316 (rice-harvesting lihi), pp. 334-337 (corn-planting lihi), pp. 339-340 (protective charms for cornfields), pp. 342-359 (dulot), pp. 359-361 (other practices associated with corn agriculture), pp. 377-385 (guhang lihi), p. 404 (coconut-planting lihi). --Analyst]

loto. After the field offering, the food is taken to the house and eaten. One informant said they buried their food offering in the field after the dulot, but this is rarely done. 243 782

A person noted for skill in holding dulots may be requested to officiate, although the owner or tenant can hold his own dulot if so desired. An old bachelor in Dangola was frequently requested to officiate at dulots in Caticugan; another recognized expert was said to live in Sandolot. In Naga one dulot was held by brothers and sisters whose fields adjoined. However, in Barrio Caticugan such cooperative dulots were uncommon. 243 791

Certain standard offerings are made in nearly every dulot. These basic items include: (1) seven binaluksan (rice wrapped in coconut leaves and then boiled, (2) one boiled chicken egg (usually but not always shelled), (3) one roasted chicken, (4) seven boiled ears of young corn, (5) seven tilads (tobacco leaves, areca nut, lime, and betel leaves), (6) seven tostos (homemade cigars), (7) seven tigols (homemade cigarettes), (8) seven kinalopis (grated fresh corn wrapped in husks and then boiled), and (9) tuba, usually four cups but sometimes one, two, or seven cups. Other items may be used such as seven nilunan (cakes made from finely ground cornmeal) seven cups of roasted cornmeal "coffee", and incense of the dried sap of the kamanan tree. 243 801

Seven is often a magical number among Caticugan barriofolk. Describing the superstitions of the people of Negros, Echauz wrote: "The number seven comes into all his 243 777 801

undertakings and ceremonies..."[45] The offerings made by the Magahats in their rice and corn saingins include food items in sevens. Oracion reports: "Seven is normally the lowest number for the above items [i.e., in the Magahat's harvest food offering]. These items, however, can be increased to fourteen, twenty-eight, and fifty-six."[46] The Magahats offerings include many items used in the loto and dulot of the Siaton River valley barriofolk.

One dulot in Sitio Lamtoc, Casala-an, will be described in some detail since it appears to have been typical. I arrived at Pas' house in the late afternoon. Pas, a widow with several grown sons living at home, was holding a dulot that evening. She was busy in the kitchen with the help of three female neighbors husking fresh corn to be used to make kinalopis. Large clay pots filled with kinalopis boiled on the fire for she expected a large crowd to come that evening. Her visitors were to be offered kinalopis to eat and to take home. She was hopeful that a dance might be held if a sufficient number of young people came, some with their guitars.

Around 8 p.m., a Lamtoc resident arrived who had been requested to hold the dulot. At first it seemed that the dulot might be postponed because the sons were unable to obtain the tuba which Pas said was "the most important item." Guhang, a similar alcoholic drink made from the

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[45]Eshauz, op. cit., p. 143.

[46]Oracion, op. cit., p. 59.

in paper and state that the exact number of hills planted during the lihi is unimportant. The cassava lihi may be done in any part of the field as long as it is practiced for the first planting. 241

If these agricultural lihis for the crops do not succeed, if the crops are infested with pests and the harvests poor, the farmers believe their tribulations are due to "the will of God" (pagbu-ot sa Dios). Failure of the lihi is not attributed to ineffectiveness of the practice, by the majority of the people. This concept of God's will is a major theme of community life in Caticugan. It is the belief that man does not fail God so much as God fails man and that man, helpless in such situations, resigns humbly and quietly to his fate. This concept of man's relation to God is the basis for much of the conservatism of the barriofolk. 241 777

Once the cassava is planted the plants receive little care. There is no weeding of cassava patches, although cassava intercropped with corn is plowed for weeds. Rats, said to be the major cassava pest, destroy the larger tubers. When the first cassava tuber is dug, a simple lihi is often practiced. The tuber is boiled with some sugar to render all roots subsequently dug from the field "sweet and nice tasting." Often cassava roots are dug before they are fully mature, especially if the family needs food; with the end of the barrio fiesta in February, cassava tubers disappear except for those which were sliced, dried and stored. 241 [262]

When the exhausted pig is cornered, it will fight the barking dogs that try to surround the frightened beast. The hunters then spear the pig--a dangerous method of killing the animal; if a small pig is cornered the dogs kill the animal. The most effective place to spear a wild pig is behind the animal's shoulder; sometimes, however, it takes many thrusts to kill a large boar. One informant said it took twenty-three jabs of his spear to kill one boar he cornered while hunting alone. Another hunter had a special anting-anting (amulet) for hunting wild pigs, a spear in which a fragment of a boar's tusk had been embedded during a previous hunt. He was reported to be a lucky hunter for awhile but later was badly mauled by a wounded boar.

One noted hunter of Caticugan occasionally fed his dogs food mixed with the powdered bark of the hangot tree. Hangot bark "makes the dogs unusually sensitive to the wild pigs' scents and increases their courage." This hunter could not recognize the hangot tree but he bartered two chickens for some bark from a resident of Sta. Catalina municipality.

Hunters state that when a wild pig is lost it often disappears mysteriously near or under a dalakit tree (Ficus pavapa Blanco; also known as balete); the spirits are believed to inhabit this tree. Some hunters state this is how the spirits protect "their" pigs.

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a copy of the book; they consult one owned by a friend or neighbor. One illiterate informant had his daughter read a friend's Napta to determine when he should start the building of a new dwelling. Much of the information probably has become part of the people's folklore.

According to Napta unfavorable months to start building a new house are February, March, Apri, August, and December. According to Napta, if a house is started in these months its future occupants will be visited by serious illness, death, thunder, or lightning, and the owner will not be prosperous or happy. December is considered worst; this was the month that "King Herode of Judea ordered the beheading of the children." A house built during favorable months, June, July, September, October and November, is blessed by God, the occupants will prosper and have no misunderstandings with their neighbors. Some people state that months containing an R are favorable for beginning the construction of a new house.[18]

Barriofolk do not agree perfectly as to good and bad months. For example, Napta states that April is a bad month but some people said it was a good month. The belief that the months which contain an R are favorable conflicts with the recommendations of Napta that are more widely accepted. September, the peak of the rainy season, is considered by most people to be one of the

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[18] Enero, Pibrero, Marso, Abril, Septiyembri, Octubri, Obiyembri and Disyembri are months with an R in Cebuano; Mayo, Hunyo, Hulyo, and Agosto lack an R.

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best months in the year to begin a new dwelling; then it is easier to dig the deep post holes, and follows the first corn harvest, a period of less activity. Whether these factors really are involved is not known; none of the people cited them as reasons for selecting September.

The important requirement is to start construction of the house during a favorable month; building activities can continue during unfavorable months. One man, working on a new house in August, was questioned if this were wise since the month is unfavorable according to Napta. He replied that it was all right for he had raised the house posts in June--a favorable month.[19]

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The construction of a barrio dwelling rarely continues without a break until the house is finished. Building activities often extend over a period of months. Posts may be erected and nothing done for a month until the family is able to buy or prepare materials for the framework and walls. Sometimes only the roof and kitchen walls are finished; one family was living in such a house in Talo-ot. In the poblacion another family began to purchase house posts and timber for a residence two years before actual construction began. Several Caticugan families lived in semi-completed dwellings for months. Often the kitchen is added long after the completion of the one-room dwelling; until then cooking is done under the house.

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[19] One poblacion informant, a member of the principalia, said it was all right to begin construction of a house during June but if one did his children would grow up selfish. He also told how he once warned a Chinese merchant in the poblacion not to begin his house during an unfavorable month; the warning was not heeded and a few weeks after the house was completed it burned to the ground. The Chinese had fallen asleep while smoking; his opium pipe fell from his mouth and started the fire.

SELECTION OF A HOUSE SITE

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The same animistic concept that underlies saingin selection applies to selection of a house site. One must determine if the spirits approve or disapprove of the chosen location. The balisa is the most widespread method of selecting a house site in Caticugan; one might say that it kills two birds with one stone.

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To measure the correct distance between the four post holes (there may be more posts) four equal lengths of bamboo are prepared; a small hole is made in each end of each bamboo stick. The sticks are then arranged in a square on the ground and small pegs are driven through the holes, holding the square to the earth. Diagonals are then measured from northeast to southwest and southeast to northwest; if these diagonals are the same length this is deemed a favorable sign from the spirits. However, if the spirits object to a dwelling on that spot, no matter how carefully the bamboo square is made the diagonals will never be equal. The site is usually abandoned or the process repeated until a favorable response is obtained. The balisa has a practical aspect for if the diagonals are equal then the bamboo square has located the four post holes.

One Naga informant explained how he selected his house site in 1950. Questions in () I asked during the interview.

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I got a stick six feet long and split it into two pieces. I placed one part in the place where I wanted to build the house and said to myself: [loud enough so the spirits could hear] 'I will put this stick here and I have another stick of the same length that I shall sleep with tonight. I shall measure the two sticks tomorrow; if they are of the same length I will build my house here. If not, I shall look for another place. So while I sleep tonight you [the spirits] let me dream if you want me to build my house here or not.' When I went to sleep that night I slept with the stick. The next morning I measured the two sticks; and they were the same length so I built my house here.

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I also buried a green coconut, one that when you shake it you cannot hear the water inside. I let it stay in the ground all night and the next morning I dug it up. I shook it but I could not hear the water. According to the old people, all omens were good. If I had heard the water when I shook the coconut the old men say the site would be a hot one. (What do you mean by 'hot'?) I do not know what they mean by hot; I just follow what the old people say. (Did you have a dream the night you slept with the stick?) No, that is why I decided to build my house here.

~~Other people said the coconut remains buried for one week.~~

Often the balisa may be accompanied by other practices to determine whether the spirits object. One family, two days after holding a favorable balisa, put a small cross in what would be the center between the four post holes of the proposed house. A loop of sig-id vine (rattan is also used) about 6 feet long was put on one arm of the cross. The next morning the vine was measured and it was found to be the same length. This was interpreted as an omen that the spirits approved of the site. If the vine had been shorter or longer than 6 feet this would have been an unfavorable sign from the spirits. An almost identical method of selecting new house sites exists among the Magahats. A cross is put in the site and a vine hung

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on it; two days later the owner returns. If he is able to separate the vine, without a break, in two parts the site is a favorable one.[20]

Another method of selecting a house site is to mark a square on the ground on the proposed site. A cross and as many stones as there are members in the family are put inside this square. If some of the stones are missing the next morning this is an unfavorable omen. One family in Talo-ot repeated this method three times until finally the same number of stones were at the base of the cross as were put there the evening before. The spirits appear to be amenable to persistence and doggedness on the part of humans.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE DWELLING

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The first step in the actual construction of a new dwelling is to dig the post holes. A blunt iron-pointed digging stick (gabok) is used to loosen the dirt that is scooped out of the hole with one's hands or a coconut shell. When the hole becomes so deep that it is difficult to reach the bottom the songsong is employed. The songsong is a sturdy bamboo whose end is split in many places; when pounded into the loose dirt these ends flare outward and the earth is packed inside. The songsong is then withdrawn from the hole and the dirt shaken out.

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[20] Oracion, op. cit., pp. 21-2. The same method of locating the four post holes, as described by the balisa, is also used by the Magahats; however, it does not appear to have any supernatural purpose.

When the holes[1] are dug, the posts are laid beside them. Their tops point in a particular direction, depending on the month. Napta states that for January, February and March the posts must face the northeast, for the following three months the southwest, for the next three months to the east and for the last three months toward the northeast. The directions correlate with the southwest and northeast monsoons. This custom is to prevent accidents to the house such as fire or flood. 335 189 777

Some informants said that the tops of the posts should be pointed with the wind. Two dwellings in Caticugan were begun in June and the posts were pointed toward the southwest before they were placed in their holes. Sometimes the post ends are charred to prevent termites from eating the wood after it is in the ground.

Putting heavy posts in their holes appears to be one of the few occasions for a palihog; several palihogs were witnessed in Caticugan for this task. In one case friends and neighbors of one man were invited to help him and his son put posts in holes already dug. Eight men came; when they finished the job, which took about an hour, they ate a meal prepared by the owner. After the meal the men went home but not until some of their wives and children also had come to eat. 335 574 476

There are different ways of erecting bamboo house posts. (See Plate LXIII.)[2] Since bamboo rots quickly in the ground a few barrio houses had bamboo house posts that rested on stone foundations. In one case short 335 342

wooden posts were put in the holes and cut so they fitted inside the larger bamboos that supported the house. In this manner the bamboo posts did not enter the earth. These techniques of preparing bamboo house posts, however, are not widespread since wooden posts are normally used. 335 342

Before the house posts are erected, various items are put in the holes; this practice is followed by nearly all barriofolk. Table XL[1] indicates items placed in the holes and the reasons for so doing. Magahat men chew betel nut and lime and spit red saliva into the post holes: "This procedure is to show respect to the spirits of the place."[21] Spanish coins are considered superior to contemporary Philippine coins, although the latter are used if the former are unavailable. One builder purchased Spanish coins from a neighbor for his post hole ceremony. 335 342 789 777

As in most of these practices to honor or placate the spirits, the combination of items vary but a "core" is accepted by nearly all people. The "stock" items are tilala, kalipay, mik, damolmog, gabigabi, and the pieces of a broken frying pan. It is desirable but not necessary to have an adequate number of each item so one may be put in every post hole. One woman spent an afternoon collecting items for the post hole ceremony; the new house had six posts. She was unable to obtain all items in sixes. The items were dropped into the holes, beginning with the northeast hole, in a counter-clock-wise fashion; the ceremony was done quickly by the woman with no religious

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[21] Oracion, op. cit., pp. 22-3.

1 [See p. 678 cat. 335, 342, 789, or 777 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA.4

TABLE XL

ITEMS USED IN POST HOLE CEREMONY
FOR A NEW DWELLING
CATICUGAN, 1951

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Items	Purposes
1. Small lagit (live) stones from river rapids.	1. To prevent fire; to protect the house from strong winds so the dwelling will not be carried away as the stones are not washed away in the river rapids; to make the house posts last longer; to make occupants happy while living in the house; to make them have a "watery, cold mind," i.e., not quick to anger.
2. Tilala leaves (Cordyline fruticosa A. Chev).	2. So the spirits will not be surprised when they see people living in the new dwelling.
3. Kalipay leaves. (Kalipay means "happiness")	3. So household members will always be happy and courteous when visitors come.
4. Mik (Spanish coins) or Philippine coins; salt is sometimes used as a substitute.	4. To prevent termites from destroying the house posts; so members of the family will not be sickly.
5. Dumolmog (a green river moss) and gabi-gabi, an underwater river plant.	5. So the house will not burn. The connection is that these two plants are always under water.
6. Palito leaves.	6. So household members will always be happy and contented.
7. Any type of flower.	7. Same purpose as kalipay and palito.
8. Pieces of a broken frying pan.	8. To make the house strong; to make the occupants of the house live harmoniously, to sleep peacefully in the house.

TABLE XL (Continued)

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Items		Purposes
9. Beads from the dumdum necklace. (Dumdum means "to remember.")	9.	So household members, if they move, will never forget their home and return some day.
10. Kaboy leaves	10.	So household members will always be kind to visitors.

overtones. This is the common practice but no one could explain why the northeast hole was selected or a counter-clock-wise movement appropriate.

Framework Construction

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The accompanying drawing of a barrio dwelling represents a little better type than is typical for Caticugan as a whole. (See Plate LXIV.)[1] Most houses do not have wooden shutters, the porch usually is not as elaborate, and posts normally are wood instead of bamboo. Basically, however, the sketch represents the average Caticugan dwelling. Some houses were more huts than dwellings, raised only a foot from the surface, with one small room. Only one house in the barrio had wooden walls; this dwelling belonged to the most affluent resident of the community.

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After the posts have been placed in their holes, a plumb line is used to get them straight. Then earth is tamped around them so they are firmly fixed. If bamboo posts are used braces, pelepol, (Plate LXIV, 2)[1] may be added to strengthen the uprights. Only two houses in

1 [See p. 680, cat. 342 -- Analyst]

Caticugan had cement forms to which wooden house posts were bolted by iron straps embedded in the concrete. The cost of cement, made in nearby Cebu Island, was so high in 1951-52 that few families could afford to buy several sacks when building a new house.

After the posts have been installed a temporary bracing (dalamba)--the same term used for fish corral bracing--is lashed to the posts on which barefoot workers stand while building the roof. Once the bracing is finished holes are bored in the upper portions of the posts to insert pegs (tarogos) that support the rafter beams. (See Plates LXV, 30, and LXV-A.)[1]

Rafter beams are normally lashed with rattan. The barriofolk tend to use nails or nuts and bolts to fix the various rafters when wood and not bamboo is used. Rattan, however, is still more popular and cheaper.[22]

After the pegs are fixed in the posts, the sablayan (Plate LXV, 22) and balabag (Plate LXV, 28) rafter beams are added and lashed in place with rattan. The "heads" or larger ends of the bamboo sablayan and balabag should

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[22] Barriofolk may gather their rattan (uway) in the mountains or buy it. Rattan gathered for house construction, is cut in lengths about 12 feet long. There are many names for different varieties of rattan, usually based upon their use. Manamac, Malabagakay, tagalola and malabutong rattan varieties are normally used in house construction. Tagalola is the rattan employed to lash the bamboo floor slats. Palasan and tagas-on, thicker varieties, are used in making rope, e.g., to tie the goats or carabaos. Abangan, a thick variety, is not suitable for rope-making owing to the deep notches in the stem; it may be used as the anchor rope for bobo. Tagakan is rarely gathered because it is brittle "even when green" according to my informants. Homokan is used to make the woven seats of chairs or beds. Another variety of rattan, tagiti, the narrowest in diameter is used for a variety of purposes.

1 [See p. 682, cat. 335 or 116 -- Analyst]

should point either east or south. The reasons for this custom have been forgotten; some speculated that maybe it was because when one floats bamboo down the river the larger ends point south. If rafters are made of timber instead of bamboo it is impossible to determine the "head" and people ignore the custom. 335 789 777

The next step is to install the sbay-sbay (Plate LXIV, 16) that strengthen the sablayan and balabag; however, if timber is used the sbay-sbay are omitted. The roof framework (panalay) consists of a number of vertical and horizontal slats to which the nipa shingles (atop) are lashed. First the salasonting (Plate LXV, 27) then the hawak (Plate LXV, 26) and finally the katsay (Plate LXV, 23) are added to the roof framework. The thickest end of the bamboo salasonting must be at the peak of the roof; otherwise it is believed the occupants will always be sickly. The katsay should always alternate so the occupants will not suffer from nightmares. The hawak, that run the length of the roof, are tied under those that run the opposite direction; this is done to make it easier to add new nipa shingles. 335 342 [789 777]

Nipa shingles cost from $1.25 to $1.50 per 100 in Siaton. Nipa swamp owners not only sell shingles in the nearby barrios but also send them to Dumaguete. The Siaton bus often stopped along the road, just outside the poblacion, to pick up large bundles of nipa shingles that the owner was taking to Dumaguete. Some go to a nipa swamp and cut the leaves to make one's own shingles, paying 435 438

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the owner for the material. This is cheaper than buying the shingles ready-made.

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Shingles are made of strips of leaves "sewed" with rattan to a narrow bamboo slat. The leaves are doubled over the bamboo and rattan is interwoven below the stick to keep the leaves in place. Plate LXVI[1] illustrates how the shingles are attached to the roof; a nipa roof lasts from six to seven years. The barriofolk normally replace the rotted nipa shingles by twos and threes rather than reroof the entire dwelling; new shingles are added just before the start of a rainy season.

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When the roof framework is finished the roof is shingled. The first step is to put shingles on the silik (Plate LXIV, 10), the roof ridges. Before the first shingle is placed on the silik, a kapia small shell and some river moss are placed under the shingle. As one informant explained:

> In putting on shingles I put a kapia and river moss under the first one. In doing this I say to myself: 'I'll put this kapia here as a lihi so during strong winds the roof won't be destroyed. And I am putting moss here so my house will not be destroyed by fire.'

Another informant said kapia shells are used because "they are very hard to pry off the rocks in the river." Some added a few leaves found floating in the river to serve the same purpose as the river moss.

Many barriofolk consider it unwise to cut rattan by biting it when making the first tie in building a dwelling. One Naga informant told me:

1 [See p.685, cat. 342 or 116 -- Analyst]

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In the first tie of the house with rattan one must be careful not to bite the rattan or else the old people say the house will have many kinds of insects. Maybe they are right. The first house I built I happened to bite the rattan the first time I started to tie; there were plenty of mosquitos in this house, especially during the rainy season. In building this house [the informant's dwelling at the time] I was careful not to bite [the rattan] and there are not many insects, especially mosquitos.

The imitative magic principle is apparent; if one "bites" the rattan the completed house will have many insects that will "bite" the occupants. After the silik is finished, shingles are fixed to the remainder of the roof. Then the bamboo bobong (Plate LXIV, 12) are put along the roof ridges and the da-og (Plate LXIV, 19) added; sometimes the bobong is made of tin. The da-og strengthen the roof and prevent shingles from being blown off during a strong wind.

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When the roof is finished, the floor (salag) framework is begun. (See Plate LXVII.)[1] First pegs are inserted to support the floor beams that may be either bamboo or timber. The bangon are installed after the bamboo hanlag (bosa-og if made of wood) have been put in place. The floor is made of bamboo slats one-half an inch wide and one-fourth an inch apart; the slats are smoothed with the bolo and then either nailed or lasted to the liliman. Such a floor makes a dwelling cooler during the hot season and easier to clean than a solid flooring.

The framework for the door and shutters are now made. The door is usually made of woven strips of bamboo with "hinges" of strong rattan, or fixed to slide in

1 [See p. 687, cat. 342 or 335 Analyst]

grooves. The shutters (takop or sira) are made normally of nipa or buri palm leaves. In some cases the shutters are wooden. 335 342

A general belief is that it is best for the doorway to face either the east or north; most of the Catiogan dwellings do. However, the barrio chapel has two doors, one facing south and the other west, and a group of houses along the base of the Dangpla bluff doorways facing south. Some of these houses are unfinished; the owners eventually plan to have either an east or north doorway. In the poblacion, with its grid street system, there is no attempt to follow this custom. 335 342 789 777 [77]

Barriofolk state that the old people (gulang) thought it wise to have the doorway face either east or north so one's life will always be "rising like the sun" or because rain usually comes from the southwest or west. If the doorway opens to the south or west the occupants of the house will be sickly, not alert during their sleeping hours, or their lives "always setting like the sun does in the west." One informant, whose statement was not backed by the majority of the people, said it was necessary to have the door facing the east or north for otherwise when entering the house "one will go against the 'heads' of the sablayan and balabag."[23]

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[23] Oracion states: "Most houses in the coastal barrios and towns...are constructed so that the main door and stairs face east. This is believed to bring prosperity to the occupants. If the main door entrance faces west, it is believed that the occupants will get sick and may die." Oracion, op. cit., p. 25.

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778 SACRED OBJECTS AND PLACES--conception of sanctity (e.g., possession by an indwelling or frequenting spirit, infusion with impersonal supernatural power); idols and fetishes; extraordinary objects (e.g., bezoar stones, albino animals, mandrake roots); sacred places (e.g., shrines, altars); places of asylum and sanctuary; notions of impersonal supernatural power (e.g., mana, soul-stuff); animatism; beliefs and practices of consecration and desecration; etc.

See also:

Churches and temples 346
Heirlooms 523
Asylum 698
Protective amulets 761
Relics 765
Conception of the sacred and the profane. . . . 771
Luck amulets. 777
Notions of uncleanness 783
Taboos 784
Phallic rites 786
Conception of magic force. 789
Holy men 792

Finally the Guardia Civil went to Klofre's barrio to arrest him and suppress the meetings. After several clashes in which some of his followers were killed, Klofre decided to surrender to the authorities to halt any further bloodshed. Another account, however, states that he and his father were secretly visiting a nephew in Zamboanguita poblacion, and that Klofre intended to give himself up when he was surprised by the Guardia Civil. In the struggle to capture Klofre, his father was killed. Klofre and his brother-in-law, Valentin Tubigan, nicknamed "Cachila" (i.e., Spaniard because of his long black beard), were able to escape.[94]

Klofre's escape from the Guardia Civil allegedly was due to his supernatural powers and his anting-anting (amulet). At first the two men established their residence at Sitio Abolay (Aboli), west of Barrio Olambid in the northern part of Siaton municipality.[95] Later they

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[94] Ruiz also states his full name was Valentin Tubigan or "Cachila." Ruiz, op. cit., p. 150. One informant said Klofre was visiting his father's residence in Zamboanguita with no intention of surrendering. While there his dagger began "to bleed." Klofre's father believed this to be a bad omen and urged his son to leave before the Guardia Civil learned he was in the poblacion. Klofre refused and later the soldiers surrounded his father's residence, tied him to a chair and bayoneted his father to death before Klofre's eyes. Because of his supernatural powers, Klofre and Valentin were able to escape.

[95] The former capitan of Zamboanguita (whom I interviewed, when he was eleven years old, claims he actually saw an example of Klofre's magical powers. While at a house with Klofre, the latter requested a glass of water. The water did not arrive quickly and Klofre was quite thirsty, so he knocked a large bamboo, part of the house's structure, and fresh water gushed forth. One day when hungry and without money, Klofre told one of his friends to cut open a squash growing in the field. Inside the squash was found 20 centavos. When his followers were hungry, Klofre is said to have spread his handkerchief on the sea, sailed away, and returned later with plenty of fish.

spirits when he makes his palio. Usually he requests that the spirits punish any individual who tries to secretly interfere with the palio. The palio is performed by a man, but not necessarily by a specialist.

Oracion reports similar practices among the Magahats of Tolong in order to determine whether the spirits approve of a new caingin. In the proposed caingin site the Magahats place a pole and put at the top a small vine roll. The roll of vines is said to symbolize a crown and the stick the diwa (unseen spirits).[11] The cultivator returns home and his dreams for the next three days are interpreted as favorable or unfavorable signs. For example, if he dreams of sickness or death this is a bad omen and the caingin area is abandoned. Normally, however, the cultivators dreams are said to be favorable.[12]

Dream interpretation for selection of a caingin site appears to be more important among the Magahats than in Siaton. The writer did not inquire specifically whether dreams were used as omens in the selection of a caingin but the palio would seem to make dreams superfluous. The

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[11] Diwa was the name for idols in pre-Hispanic Philippines. "Others...reverenced most ugly idols made of stone or wood, which they called divatas." Luis de Jesus, Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XXI, p. 203. Cateugan barrio-folk use diwata today as a synonym for "superstition" and as the name for a rite connected with the fish corral.

[12] Oracion, op. cit., pp. 46-7.

Calendars with pictures of the Holy Family or religious scenes are common in the dwellings; these calendars are distributed free by Dumaguete Chinese merchants. Photographs are fairly typical—pictures of weddings, funerals, relatives, school graduations, etc. A few houses had an aparado, a chest cupboard, often with glass doors.

Every Caticugan dwelling had a family or domestic altar. In some cases the altar was merely a religious picture or a cheap plaster figure of a saint placed on a small shelf or, in one case, on the top of a trunk. A few altars were quite elaborate with two or three religious figures and pictures, vases (often beer bottles) for flowers, and paper cut-out or tinfoil decorations. Some altars have a small tin container filled with coconut oil with a wick made from a twist of kapok or native cotton.[5] The most elaborate altar in Caticugan belonged to two unmarried brothers who lived together; both young men were considered to be bayutes, highly feminine-acting men.

Little care is given most altars; they are often dirty and disarranged. During a novena or the fiesta, however, the altars are cleaned, rearranged and fresh flowers put in the vases.

4 (Continued) and several pages of current events. Personal communication to the writer from Mr. B. Canete, Circulation Manager, Liwayway Publications, Inc., Manila, April 3, 1954. Typescript.

5 There are two varieties of tree cotton in Caticugan, gapas gamay and gapas dako; both were identified as Gossypium brasiliense Macf. Also see Brown, op. cit., II, pp. 401-3.

flowers put in the vases. When a religious service is held at the altar, the coconut oil lamp and a few candles are lighted.[6] 778

Domestic altars of Caticugan are quite similar to those described by Robert Redfield for Tepoztlan. 353 778

> A domestic shrine is found in most houses. This may be no more than a printed or painted picture of a saint, but more commonly it is a carved and painted wooden figure, usually a Virgin or a Christ ...In front of this figure an incense burner...is placed...In it copal gum is burned. [No incense is used for altar services in Caticugan]. Flowers are also placed before the figure, in bottles or vases, and pictures of other saints are hung near the image. This shrine is the center of domestic worship and ritual. Candles are burned before it on feast days...[7]

A few wooden-carved saints can still be seen in Caticugan but, for the most part, they have been replaced by the bright-colored plaster figures sold in Dumaguete or purchased from peddlars who come to the barrios or poblacion during the fiestas.

The frequency of these domestic barrio altars decreases in the poblacion. Some of the more sophisticated think that the barriofolk's altars are primitive; none of the altars seen in the poblacion approached the elaborateness of the two brothers' altar in Barrio Caticugan. Since many principalia of Siaton are Protestants this may explain, in part, the fewer domestic altars that occur in the poblacion. 369 353 778 795

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[6]The life history of one man included a statement that he could escape punishment for a childhood misdeed if he reached the family altar before his father caught him.

[7]Redfield, op. cit., p. 38.

A general pattern does appear, however; the barriofolk more often have domestic altars in their dwellings, of various degrees of elaborateness. These altars are less popular among many of the poblacion principalia (who are Catholics); their popularity and frequency increase in homes of the urban wealthy. Some city homes I visited had a separate room that was a place of worship, a sanctuary with expensive religious pictures and elaborate figures of saints and the Holy Family. The nearness of the local church may account for the decline in number of altars in Siaton poblacion.

Kitchen equipment normally includes the large clay water jar and a dirt and ash-floored cooking platform or hearth (dapog). The small clay pot rests (hornos) cost fifteen cents and are put on the hearth; they resemble the Japanese shichirin. While most barriofolk now use the horno some still cook by setting pots on three stones placed in a triangular position and known as sug-sug.[8] This was the old way of cooking before the horno's introduction. Every kitchen has a few cooking pots. More people are buying iron kettles for cooking. Pot rests (balanka) are made of rattan or corn cobs. (See Plate LVIII.)[1]

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[8] There are a number of riddles concerning the sug-sug.
"Three brothers have but one name." (Bicol)
"What are those three houses facing each other that cannot be burned?" (Igorot)
The answer to both is sug-sug. Buaken, op. cit., pp. 348-50.

1 [See p. 658, Cat. 417 -- Analyst]